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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY

CONFIDENTIAL

May 26, 1958

CIA - Mr. Allen Dulles
H - Mr. Macomber
S/P - Mr. Smith

Thru: S/S

The Secretary is scheduled to make on June 6, a major statement on U. S. foreign policy before the Foreign Relations Committee. He would like your general reaction to the attached preliminary draft and hopes he could have this by mid day Tuesday, that is before he leaves for New York and Duck Island.


J. N. Greene, Jr.

Attachment:
Draft speech.

S:JNG:jm

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Too Student

My Slave - Repudiation
of differing methods to Somalia

Hundred flowers

Tolerance - Refusal
of normal exchanges

Second part [II]

Good - But compare you
debate with Fullbright

Too pessimistic

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Mr. Chairman:

You have heard from those in charge of regional and economic affairs detailed expositions of United States foreign policy in relation to particular subjects. I would like in this concluding appearance to try to present the basic philosophy, the rationale, which underlies our foreign policies.

PART ONE

I.

The United States foreign policy is made in America, for Americans. It is designed to protect and promote the interests of the United States. What are these interests?

They are the lives and homes of our people, which could be destroyed by war.

They are the economic well-being of our people, which depends largely on international trade.

Finally, there are the ideals of our nation, expressed authoritatively in our Declaration of Independence.

We have more than once sacrificed life, property and economic well-being in defense of our ideals. That means that United States foreign policy is not merely peace policy. It must win peace without compromising what we deem to be just and right.

II.

Today the lives, the well-being, the ideals of our nation are in jeopardy. That stems from International Communism, or Communist Imperialism, as it is variously called.

International Communism reflects a creed that runs somewhat as follows:

The world, including mankind, is material. Men are mere animated particles of matter. The reason for discord and war in the

world is that these animated particles of matter are not coordinated so that they move in harmony and in planned conformity. In order to achieve permanent peace and prosperity, it is necessary that there be a master plan for the whole world and that all human beings should function in conformity with it. The Soviet Communist Party, as the "general staff" of the world proletariat, will prescribe the master plan and will organize and direct the force required to implement it.

We have seen that creed in action. Since 1918, it has extended its rule to all or large parts of nations, comprising nearly one billion in population. It strives to rule the rest, moved by creedal compulsions which feed, and are fed by, despotic ambitions.

III.

The threat of Communist Imperialism is, in many respects, different from any of the despotic threats we have known. Its duration

is to be measured not by ambitious human lives-in-being but by "an entire historical era". Its methods are not merely crude military aggression, but all means, warlike or peaceful, overt or covert, that may advance Communism toward its global goal.

- (1) Military power is one means. And the Soviet Union is seeking to create the world's greatest military establishment.
- (2) Also it now conducts economic warfare. The Soviet economy has developed to where the Government can extend credits to foreign countries enabling them to acquire certain types of Soviet manufactured goods and where the Soviet Union can itself absorb increasing quantities of raw materials and natural products. This international economic activity is carried out, as Mr. Khrushchev has said, primarily for political purposes.

(3) Then there are political offensives. These largely fall within two categories. One is to get advantages through political promises that are repudiated once the Soviet Union gets what it wants. There are literally hundreds of political engagements which have been made by the Soviet Union and subsequently broken. The difficult thing is, not to find Soviet promises that have been broken, but to find any that have not been broken. These are so rare as to be conspicuous.

The second category of political offensive is the exploiting of differences between free world countries. Lenin taught the importance of "skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest 'fissure' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries". And so Communist Imperialism seeks to exacerbate any differences which may develop between free

world countries, such as the differences between India and Pakistan, between Israel and the Arab States, between Indonesia and the Netherlands, etc. By intensifying tensions and by supporting one side or another -- and sometimes both sides -- it tries to gain an influence and to weaken and divide the non-Communist countries.

(4) Communist propaganda is developed to a high degree. It projects abroad into every country the image of the Soviet Union which the Soviet leaders believe will best serve its purpose. This is done by overt and covert radio operations, by wholesale bribery of the local press, by propaganda literature, and by agitators and secret agents who are implanted in the country. It is conducted with no regard for either truth or consistency. Its purpose is to intensify and exploit differences within the free world and to glorify Communism and the

Soviet Union as ardent supporters of peace and of whatever else is judged to be the popular desire.

The Soviet society is organized with a view to promoting scientific accomplishments. This is a solid effort to achieve supremacy in the military field and to promote industrial development. But also it provides substance for Communist propaganda. The despots of past times created their monuments such as the pyramids, the coliseums, the palaces, to impress and to please the masses. So "sputniks" of the Soviet Union impress the world. Soviet achievements in this field, admittedly great, are blazoned abroad with tremendous fanfare. Its technical launching failures, which undoubtedly are numerous, are kept out of the news, so that there is given abroad an appearance of invincible perfection.

(E) Another facet of International Communism is the covert organization of violence designed to break down orderly governmental processes within the free world. International Communism develops "cells" within groups which can be readily influenced to violent outbreaks -- notably student groups and labor groups. It uses these to foment violent demonstrations at times and at places which will shake confidence in the ability of government to maintain order and disturb free world harmony. Thus it seeks to lay the foundation for take-over by a Communist "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Assassination is a part, or at least a product, of this scheme. President Castilla Armas, who rescued Guatemala from the Communist grip, was assassinated by a Communist. In Vietnam, President Ngo Dinh Diem was the object of an assassination attempt and his regime is sought

to be undermined by a methodical assassination program. For approximately a year now, there has been a monthly assassination of approximately thirty "grass roots" officials as part of a program designed to undermine the authority and prestige of the President.

Recent outbursts of rowdyism and mob violence in South America, Asia and the Middle East are examples of this technique.

* * * *

The aggressive methods of Communist Imperialism which we outline are not, at this stage, designed to subdue the United States. We are the ultimate target, but not yet the proximate target. It is Communist strategy first to take over smaller and weaker nations and finally to encircle and strangle the United States.

IV.

The versatile aggressive techniques of Communist Imperialism are projected into a world which, in large part, is restless, dissatisfied

and seeking change.

During the last fifteen years there has been a vast movement away from colonialism. It has brought political independence to 18 nations with a population of some 700 million. Independence is on the way in several other countries. Western colonialism, which has been a dominant feature of the past five hundred years, is a phase which is definitely passing.

It might be thought that the Western powers would have gained great prestige in the world, and the Communists have lost prestige, because the West has peacefully acceded to this vast grant of political independence, while Communist Imperialism has been depriving a comparable number of people and countries of independence and subjecting them to a new form of colonial rule. However, the equation is complicated by other factors.

One factor is the political immaturity of some of the peoples who have recently won their independence. George Washington told us that we could sustain our free political institutions only as our people, under the impulsion of religion, practiced self-control and self-discipline and only as there was general education so that the people would understand the problems which confronted them. These conditions do not prevail throughout the world.

The matter is further complicated by the fact that those to whom political independence has recently been granted have shockingly low standards of living. They believe that political independence should mean that they will move out of the morass of abject poverty in which they have been bogged down for many centuries.

Under these conditions, Communist propaganda can make a

strong appeal. It is alluring and persuasive. Furthermore, incontrovertible facts, such as "Sputniks", constitute visible evidence of great Communist scientific achievements. The evils of Communism are hidden or forgotten.

The Western peoples should not be surprised at this forgetting, because they do considerable forgetting themselves; and many of us are also swayed by wishful thinking.

In a world of rapid political evolution and where economic evolution is ardently sought, the Communist tactics have much opportunity for success. A Party which is itself essentially revolutionary and which has already, by revolutionary tactics, gained control of nearly a billion people, inherently has a corps of persons highly trained in revolutionary tactics and qualified to move effectively into a rapidly

changing world and influence the change so that it plays into the Communist program for world domination.

V.

It would be easy to be discouraged at this catalog of means and opportunities available to Communist Imperialism. We need not, however, be discouraged. There are two sides to the balance sheet. International Communism not only has assets; it also has liabilities. The Communist rulers are faced by grave and, in the long run, insoluble problems.

(1) One dilemma is found in the main citadel -- Moscow. The Soviet Union cannot stay at the forefront of scientific achievement, both in terms of theory and of applications, without increasing education. Scientific education has been going on at a rapid rate. It has produced brilliant results which increase the military, economic and propaganda

capacity of International Communism. But also by the same token it has produced an increasing number of skeptics. Educational persons within the Soviet Union are more and more contemptuous of the slogans of Marx and Lenin. Minds which can find the ways to penetrate outer space can equally penetrate the fallacies of Marxism, which is more obsolete in the world today than is the colonialism which was a contemporary manifestation.

(2) A second dilemma is economic. There is an increasing demand on the part of the ruled peoples for more consumer's goods, for more of the fruits of their labor. Soviet rulers have long promised their people an abundant life. Stalin said in 1929 (?) that the Soviet Union would soon be "saturated" with consumers goods. Khrushchev has repeated these promises. Sooner or later there will be need to

make good on those promises. The time will surely come when the Soviet rulers will have to spend more time and attention looking out for the welfare of their own people than exploiting them for purposes of world conquest.

(3) There is within the Soviet Union a growing demand for greater personal security. The new generation of educated Russian intellectuals will not usefully serve their state if that state operates upon them as a police state within which they live in constant fear that a knock on the door at night may mean disappearance into a black void.

Already under Stalin there was rising resentment against his brutal police state methods. At the Tenth (?) Party Conference in February 1955 (?), Khrushchev made -- he hoped in secret -- one of the most devastating attacks ever made upon one who had achieved

great glory, akin to deification, and who died at the height of his glory. There has subsequently been some relaxation of the police state methods of Stalin. But in that relaxed atmosphere there has been a growth of intellectual heresy against the creed of Orthodox Communism.

The doctrine that all human activity can be controlled from a central point in the Kremlin has had to be revised even in the Soviet Union. An industrialized Soviet Union is too complicated to be run in this way. Decentralization is being tried, permitting of greater differences, greater adaptation to the local environment.

It is inevitable that intelligent minds should speculate as to how the Communist dream of complete conformity can be achieved on a world-wide basis, when it cannot be achieved even in the Soviet Union.

(4) In the satellite countries of Eastern Europe there is increasing

unrest. The peoples, possessed of rich national traditions, resent the imposition upon them of governments which are mere puppets of the Soviet Communist Party. The outbreaks that occurred in East Berlin and East Germany in 1953, in Poland in 1956, and in Hungary at the end of 1956, have demonstrated that nationalism and individualism are forces that cannot be extinguished even by massive pressures. In Hungary the revolutionaries were largely young people who throughout their mature lives had known nothing but intensive Communist propaganda. In Germany the flow of refugees from the East to the West continues at a rate of about twenty thousand a month. These, too, in large part are young people.

The inherent bankruptcy and artificiality of Soviet Communism and the inherent strength of Western ideals are strikingly demonstrated by

the fact that everywhere in the world, when an opportunity is given for peoples to move into, or away from, a Communist area, the movement is always away.

During the period of Hungarian unrest, _____ thousand Hungarians broke away, at great risk, into the West.

In Germany there has been an unremitting flow from East to West.

In Korea _____ million of civilians fled from the North to the South and, of the North Korean soldiers captured, _____ or _____ %, elected not to be returned.

In Vietnam nearly a million moved from the Vietminh area into the free Republic of Vietnam.

From Communist China they flee to Hong Kong and Macao.

Such movements could not occur over so many years and

throughout so much of the world unless there was something essentially rotten in the Communist rule.

The Communist rulers have shown an immense capacity to extend their rule. But nowhere have they developed a capacity to make their rule acceptable to the ruled.

In the case of the Eastern European satellites, the Soviet rulers must either grant more freedom, and thus liberate forces which oppose the existing regimes, or else they must revert to the Stalinist tactics of oppression and thus increase the likelihood of violent revolt.

In the face of this dilemma, the Communist tactics have vacillated. The May 1955 pilgrimage to Belgrade seemed to presage a deviation from the Orthodox Communist thesis that all Communist

parties everywhere must serve the internal ends of the Soviet Communist Party and take its orders. But that liberal gesture inspired the satellite peoples to demand for themselves a government not dominated from Moscow. So the Moscow rulers have had to retrace their steps. But they have not yet found a formula which on the one hand will preserve their rule, and on the other hand give them immunity from rebellion. And the violent repression of rebellion cannot be reconciled with the "new look" policy by which the Soviet Union now seeks to win friends and influence people.

(5) Soviet policy faces a grave dilemma in terms of its foreign policy. For a time it gained ground by primary reliance upon brute force with which it was clearly identified. But such means no longer bring results in the face of free world collective defenses. The Soviet

rulers have therefore switched to policies which overtly are policies of friendliness and not obviously designed to be predatory. Violence is still used, but more discreetly, under conditions where there was a "cut-off" between the violence and Moscow.

By its new tactics, the Soviet Union has gained increased influence and acceptability as against the time when it growled and bared its teeth and bit. But it is not possible to go on smiling for a long time without its having an internal effect on character. In the long run, a nation, like an individual, tends to become what it pretends to be.

The Soviet Union is developing a vested interest in outward respectability. It cannot now openly employ violence without imperiling many of its efforts which represent a large investment in time, effort and money. It is questionable whether

by means short of violence, it can extend its absolute rule. Thus it may have to become content with something less. This, however, is not reconcilable with its basic creed of absolute imposed conformity.

PART TWO

In the face of the menace I describe, there are two basic conclusions to be drawn:

One is that if the free nations are to counter massive totalitarianism, they must practice the principle of interdependence.

With the possible exception of the United States, there is no free world nation that can alone maintain its independence in the face of the many phased types of assault -- overt and covert -- military, economic, and subversive -- that Communist Imperialism can stage.

Probably the United States could, singlehanded, preserve its independence. But we would be an embattled garrison state and would have

to accept such costs and burdens for so long a time that our land would no longer be a land of individual freedom.

While therefore the United States could, and if need be will, in isolation maintain its national independence, it would be folly for us to elect that course. It is a course of last resort, to be followed only if other free world nations impose it by themselves rejecting the doctrine and practice of interdependence.

A second conclusion is that time is on our side, provided we use that time to build constructively. The time will surely come when the Soviet rulers will seek first the welfare of the nations and their people and stop exploiting them in the interest of achieving the global goals of International Communism. To expedite that coming is the goal of United States policy. We need to deny to Communist Imperialism the

victrories which would enhance its prestige and thus enable it better to suppress the aspirations of the subject peoples which are already making themselves manifest.

The foreign policies of the United States proceed from these two premises. They are designed to prevent the subjection of non-Communist nations to Communist rule. But we recognize the sterility of what is purely negative. So we try, in all that we do, to develop new principles and practices which will survive long after the Communist menace has passed away, assuring that the society of nations will be better organized, in the centuries ahead, to assure peace, order, and justice.

I.

To meet the military threat that stems from the Soviet military establishment, the United States has its own military establishment. This has two principal components. One is the Strategic Air Command (SAC),

so organized as to be able to wreak great destruction upon the Soviet Union should it ~~engage~~ in armed aggression against the United States or any of its allies. This is the effective deterrent to general war. No nation will deliberately start a war if it knows that the consequences will be the devastation of its homeland.

A second component is those forces, land, sea, and air, which could if need be participate in local war and which, of course, have their utility in case of general war.

In considering the role of the United States military force, certain considerations need to be borne in mind.

The first is that our national military establishment is more than national. It is impressed with a trust for the benefit of many other nations.

The United States, with solid bipartisanship, has made collective defense treaties with 42 other nations and it has comparable arrangements with several more. These in effect pledge each to help the other in the event of armed attack. The deterrent power of the United States acts as a shield to protect all nations with which we have such arrangements. But the arrangement is not wholly one-sided. Other nations contribute greatly. They provide bases which greatly increase the effectiveness of our deterrent power. Also they contribute the great bulk of the ground forces.

We should consider that this collective security system is no mere temporary expedient. It is a constructive evolution which in some form should persist.

Within our own country and every civilized country, security

is sought on a collective basis. We unite to provide a central police force, a central fire department, and the like. Now, at least within the free world, we are beginning to apply that concept internationally.

In that way weaker nations can be made secure from being picked up one by one. In that way a strong nation can avoid having to become a garrison state and even then being encircled and strangled as a result of the smaller nations being picked up one by one. On a collective basis nations get maximum security at minimum cost.

We would of course prefer if this could be done on a universal basis through the United Nations. The concept of collective security is indeed one of the basic concepts of the United Nations. But the Soviet Union has partially blocked its implementation by the United Nations. So this basic principle is now being applied through a series of collective

defense arrangements which are authorized by the United Nations Charter.

Originally these were conceived of primarily as purely military alliances. However, we are striving to make them more than that. The latest NATO Communique had this to say:

"Nato, a defensive organization, is now much more than merely a military alliance. It is becoming a true community of free nations. Within this community, to a degree unprecedented in history, countries are carrying out a policy of close cooperation in peacetime without abandoning their independence. This development is one of the most significant and promising events of our time."

As we contemplate the military aspect of our defense, it is important to bear in mind that our goal is not to be the world's greatest military power and to be able militarily to dominate the world. Our military goal is, as President Eisenhower has repeatedly said, to achieve that George Washington called "a respectable military

posture", that is, a military establishment that others will treat with respect. It is essential that we should have the capacity to deter war by an ability to inflict upon an aggressor a retaliatory blow so severe that he would lose more than he would gain by aggression. But we should not be tempted into military build-ups merely out of a competitive desire to be superior at every point to those who glory in military grandeur. And we must unremittingly and resourcefully seek international ways to make surprise attack less likely, and to reduce armaments, equitably and dependably.

Our collective security arrangements are serviced by our Mutual Security Program. It supplies our allies with a certain amount of military equipment. In a few cases it helps them financially to maintain military establishments which are needed but which their economies are

too poor to support without some outside help.

The free world collective defense arrangements now cover virtually all the areas which are liable to direct military attack by the forces of Communist Imperialism. They effectively deter such attacks.

II.

We meet the economic offensive of International Communism in two principal ways:

First of all, we try to maintain healthy trade relations between ourselves and other free world countries. The total volume of our foreign trade is now approximately \$2.4 billion a year. It provides employment to 6 million of our farmers and workers and it is even more vital to the economic life of many free world countries which depend upon being able to exchange the one or two commodities which they produce in surplus for the manifold things which are needed for

a decent life for their people.

The principal instrumentality and the outstanding symbol of international trade is our Trade Agreements Act. The principle of the Act was first adopted in 1934 and ten times the Congress acted to renew it. Any failure now to renew it would be a grave blow both to our own economy and to collective security policies which, to succeed, must make it possible for free countries to prosper by trade as amongst themselves.

We should, perhaps, recall the early Thirties. At that time high tariff and monetary devaluation policies wreaked havoc upon international trade and boosted into power, in Germany and Japan, extreme nationalists who later plunged the world into World War II.

The greatest danger which today faces our nation is the danger

that we shall ourselves repudiate the principles of interdependence by reverting to obsolete practices of trade nationalism. It would indeed be a tragedy of incalculable proportions if the short-range interests of a small minority were allowed to override the interests of our nation and the free world as a whole.

A second means of meeting the Communist economic offensive, particularly in the less developed countries, is to provide the means whereby such countries can borrow the funds needed to supplement their own efforts to develop their economies.

Historically, the more developed nations, with surplus capital, have used this capital to help develop other countries. The United States itself largely drew upon foreign capital to develop its railroads and its industries during the early years of the Republic.

Normally, this role has been played by private capital, and private capital is still, to a large extent, performing this role. However, there are some areas where the political risks are so great that government must play a part of else the peoples and nations which so ardently desire economic improvement will feel that the free world is one of economic suffocation. Then, they will turn to the Communist world. Our Economic Development Fund, supplementing the role of the Export-Import Bank and the World Bank, constitutes an essential instrument for blunting a Communist offensive in the economic development field and for performing creative tasks which in any event would appeal to the American people. There is imperative need to make this Fund adequate and to end its present precarious hand-to-mouth existence.

III.

a) To meet the Communist political effort to get advantages in

exchanges for false, but alluring, promises, it is necessary to keep fresh in the memory of ourselves and of other peoples the long record of Soviet undependability in this respect. This is not a pleasant thing to do. To some it may seem like a deliberate effort to block a rapprochement between East and West. But past reliance on Soviet promises has cost many nations their freedom. If that record is forgotten, it will cost other nations their freedom.

That does not mean that we exclude the possibility of agreements with the rulers of the Sino-Soviet world. In recent years we have made several such agreements. There is the Korean Armistice. There is the Austrian State Treaty. There is our cultural exchange agreement of last January. We are seeking agreement on many phases of disarmament.

But we do not make significant concessions merely in reliance

of Soviet promises. We shall not endorse the Communist regimes in either Eastern Europe or ~~in~~ the Far East in the hope of thereby bringing a "peace" in the Cold War. That is not on two counts. It would betray the ideals of our nation. And we would not get what we bargained for -- we would merely have stultified ourselves and strengthened those whose supreme dedication is to destroy us.

b) Then we have the problem of Communist exploitation of differences between free world countries. This is difficult to handle. There is no simple solution.

It seems clear to us that the danger from Communism is so great that the free nations cannot safely engage in quarreling among themselves. But others do not always see it that way. Nor is it easy to find the practical solution of many grave problems that vex the free world.

There are some who feel that the United States has enough military and economic power to suppress arbitrarily these differences, and to impose solutions. Some judge us at fault if we do not do so.

We do not accept that viewpoint. The United States has no mandate to rule the affairs of other nations. We do not adopt the thesis of Communism, which is that some preponderant power must itself impose conformity on all others. It is inevitable that, within the free world, there should be differences. Also, we must have faith that these differences can be resolved in freedom. If we resort to a form of despotism as the way of solution, then we will have been false to our basic creed.

But freedom is not license. Freedom involves self-control self-discipline and surely it is incumbent upon the free world nations

to try peacefully to resolve their differences and not allow themselves to be so weakened, so divided, so hostile toward each other, that the practice of interdependence is jeopardized, the trend toward nationalism is stimulated, and the free nations exposed, one by one, to capture by Communist Imperialism.

The United States always stands ready to extend its good offices to resolve differences, if this is desired. We seek constantly, in unobtrusive ways which cannot cause offence, to reduce the tensions which International Communism seeks to exacerbate. But in this field we must rely primarily upon free nations which have these differences to see their problems in proper perspective.

IV.

The problems posed by Communist propaganda are difficult to meet on a governmental basis. We have our USIA which does much

to make available the facts with reference to the pronouncements and activities, official and private, of our nation. It helps to remind the captive peoples that they are not forgotten. But the principal medium of information about the United States is our own free press, radio, and television and, above all, the conduct and example of our own individual people.

The Government of the United States does not have, and I trust never will have, the capacity to represent itself as something different from what it is as one thing in one part of the world and as something different in another part of the world.

Neither will we have for the foreseeable future the opportunity to present the truth adequately to the peoples subject to Soviet rule. The Soviet rulers continue to show the utmost sensitivity to any exposure

of their people to political thinking and political ways other than those of Communism itself.

The refusal of the Soviet Government to permit more than purely nominal numbers of Soviet students to come to this country and the dismissal of our Second Secretary of Embassy at Moscow because he went to a Moscow University and fraternized with the students indicates the resistance that we face.

Nonetheless, we need not be despondent, because the truth has a way of penetrating. As the people of the Soviet Union become more educated, as they develop technical contacts with the outer world, they gain an appreciation of the nature of freedom which we can be sure will communicate itself to the captive peoples.

I do not suggest that we should be complacent as to the present

state of affairs. It enables Communist Imperialism to gain, at least temporarily, advantages by portraying the United States as a bigoted, materialistic, and imperialistic society, and the Soviet Union as a peace-loving society seeking only to enhance the welfare of the governed.

The situation is one which on a short term basis at least carries great disadvantages. We can, I believe, make freedom a more dynamic, penetrating influence than it now is. But we would not want to ape in any degree the means whereby Communist Imperialism operates to achieve propaganda goals.

V.

There is another phase of Communist activity that we do not and never will copy. That is the development of mob violence and the use of physical violence and assassination to gain political ends. There is no doubt that by such means Communist Imperialism directly

or through others who deliberately or unwittingly serve its ends gains certain advantages. We try to minimize these possibilities by making available to our friends our own experience and techniques in identifying Communist agents and in nullifying their capacity for harm. We are helping many countries to develop a better police force and a better system for checking on subversives.

We believe that this type of Communist activity will in the end be self-defeating because of the reaction of decent people everywhere against these methods.

VI.

The essential is that in all that we do we should not be defensive but positive and creative. If we do what we are doing only with a heavy heart because we believe that the threat of Communism imposes it upon us, we shall not succeed. We must see that the present struggle in

the world, the present evolution of the world, affords an opportunity to do such creative things as have always inspired the effort of the American people. From our beginning, we have felt a sense of mission, and of destiny. The present affords unprecedented opportunities for us to influence inevitable change into channels that will make the world a better and safer place in which to live.

I have already referred to the fact that we conceive of our collective security arrangements as more than military, defensive expedients. They are the beginning of a long overdue system of collective international security.

In Europe we are beginning to see the possibility of realizing what has long been the dream of enlightened Western statesmanship, that is, Western European unity. Already substantial progress has been

made as reflected by the Coal and Steel Community, the Treaty for Western European Unity, EURATOM and the Common Market.

Similarly, we have opportunity to give leadership in building up the world economically, in uniting it together through trade and travel.

There are exciting opportunities to pioneer in new areas.

The North Polar regions, long only icy barriers, now suddenly provide the routes whereby intercourse can be most easily and quickly sustained. These areas are relatively free of political complications and population densities. We had hoped, and still hope, that there may be initiated there some international system of inspection to insure that these polar routes shall be traversed only for peaceful purposes and not by bombers or missiles of war.

Another new continent, Antarctica, is also opening up. We have proposed for this area an international regime which will assure that it will not be used for the military purposes of any nation but that the principle of the open door for all nations shall apply.

Outer space is for the first time now becoming accessible to the instruments of men. We have proposed to study how this new world can be dedicated to peaceful uses and be barred to instrumentalities of war.

At the "Law of the Sea" conference, we have sought to modernize and rationalize concepts which were increasingly rejected by many nations because they rested upon obsolete concepts having no rational relation to the present facts of international life. Several important new conventions were negotiated. On the principal issues no single position obtained the necessary two-thirds vote, but the position

expounded by the United States obtained the largest majority of votes, and we believe that the general principles which we advocated will ultimately prevail.

We need generally to try to develop international law so that it is more comprehensive and more clear. We shall need to develop and use a judicial system to interpret and apply that law. There will need to be sanctions to promote law observance and there will need to be methods of changing law so that it will be just in relation to what inevitably are changing conditions.

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In all of ~~the~~ United Nations has a great part to play. We realize that any such effort will doubtless encounter strong Soviet bloc opposition. But we must keep the pressure on. The United Nations provides the only hopeful way of doing on a world-wide basis some of the things which

obviously need to be done on that basis.

We have proposed that the nations possessing veto power in the United Nations Security Council should undertake as among themselves voluntarily to refrain from using the veto when the Security Council is merely proposing methods by which States having differences may resolve those differences. It surely seems that such procedural steps for peaceful settlements ought not to be subject to veto.

Also we believe that renewed study should be given to stand-by arrangements which would permit the creation when needed of United Nations forces to patrol troubled areas -- in effect, to place the present United Nations Emergency Force which is stationed in the Middle East on a permanent institutional basis.

There is a serious need which might be filled in this way.

Nations are often endangered by measures which fall short of open armed attack but which cannot readily be dealt with without some external assistance. If that external assistance comes from the armed forces of another nation, it is suspect. If it came from the United Nations, no such suspicion would attach.

We shall probably have to take bolder and more far-reaching steps than we have yet taken in the economic field in order to put free world economies on a sounder basis. There is particular danger if a totally socialized industrial state, willing to use trade as a political weapon, engages in economic war against private concerns which must operate at a profit to survive.

It may be necessary to permit those engaged in foreign trade to work more closely together, under appropriate governmental supervision,

in order to meet the competition of a vast economic power which may be attempting to put them out of business.

VII.

President Eisenhower, speaking at Paris last December at the NATO meeting, said, "There is a noble strategy of victory -- not victory over any peoples, but victory for all peoples".

I have tried to outline the conditions which make that victory possible and some of the ways by which that victory is obtainable.

The essential is that the American people should hold fast to the ideals bequeathed us by our founders and implement those ideals with courage that is traditional with us. We shall need a sustained, sacrificial effort. We may have to do some of the things we do in war -- but without the killing and being killed.

The greatest responsibility in all of this rests upon the American

people ~~themselves~~, upon the individuals which make our great nation.

The essential and basic difference between the Communist creed and our own is that we believe in the sanctity of the individual personality.

That is why we believe that government should be the servant, and not the master, of men.

Our nation was founded by individuals who felt it their personal mission to help to change the world. They sought to do so by their conduct and example. They saw a great prospect and were filled with a great purpose. In order to do what was both their duty and their opportunity, they practiced simple virtues -- hard work, frugality, personal charity, the exercise of self-discipline and self-control.

Under the impulsion of their faith and works, there developed

here an area of great spiritual, intellectual, and economic vigor.

It caught the imagination of all men throughout the world. What we did became known as the "Great American Experiment". The tide of despotism which was high when our nation was founded receded largely under the impact of such ideas as our people professed and practiced.

Today when despotism again rides high ~~high~~ and when there are many "uncommitted" peoples, our society is closely observed. Many are trying to judge whether this freedom of which we talk so much is really a product which they want to import. Some see our freedom as license and the wasting of productive power which could fill vital human needs. That is where the individual must feel responsibility. In a struggle where freedom is the issue, the only adequate exponents of freedom are free people. The government, under our conception,

is the servant of the people. It is the masters, not the servant, who must demonstrate the worth of freedom.

So, while there is much that government can do, the ultimate and conclusive demonstration of freedom must be made by individuals.